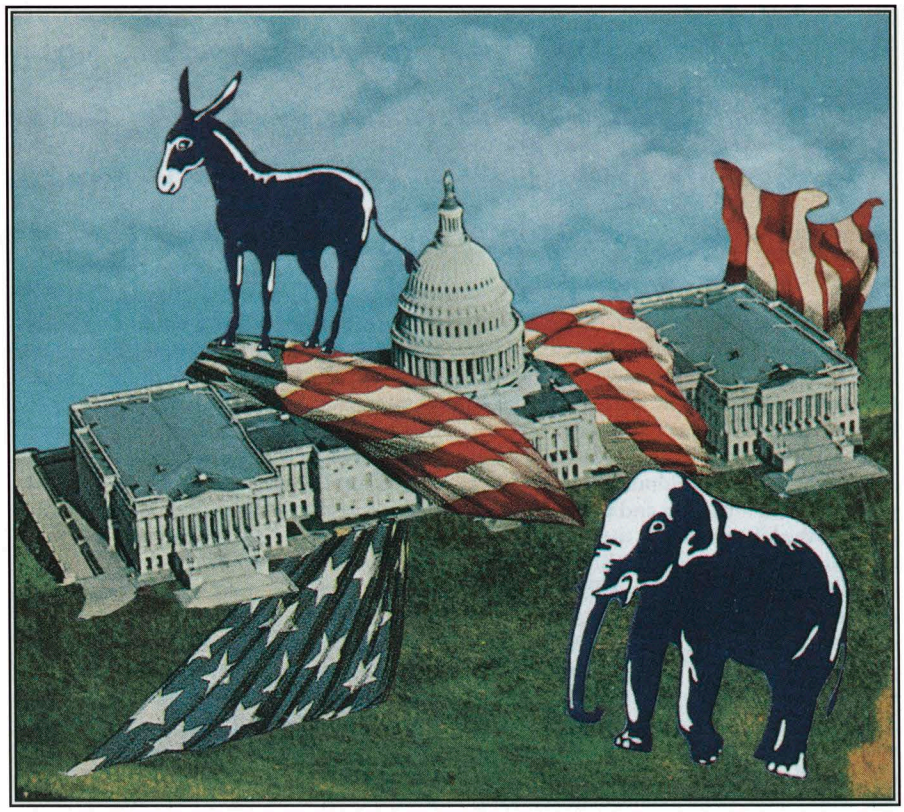
Along the Potomac

A ten-part digest of Washingtonians who are plugged in.



MARTY BLAKE

Senate Chambers

There are different ways to do the same job.

If you tallied the university affiliations of the 100 members of the U.S. Senate, only five schools outrank Syracuse. Four of the most visible and esteemed senators in the chamber hail from SU.

Joseph Biden, D-Delaware, is a 1968 graduate of the College of Law. He is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and, at age 50, a likely presidential candidate in 1996 or 2000.

Alfonse D'Amato, R-New York, has the reputation of looking out for his constituents' every need—more than any other senator. He also was among the first to warn about the dangers of Saddam Hussein. He has both business (1959) and law (1961) degrees from SU.

Daniel P. Moynihan, D-New York, known as the philosopher of the Senate, has been at the forefront of a host of major issues during his quarter-century in government. A former Maxwell School professor, he earned an honorary degree from SU in 1984.

Warren Rudman, R-New Hampshire, has been vice chairman of two major congressional investigations into Washington wrong-doing in recent years: the Iran-Contra scandal and the Keating Five. Perhaps more notable, the Gramm-Rudman law that requires spending cuts to reduce the federal deficit bears his name. He is a 1952 management graduate.

Together, these four senators display the variety of approaches one can bring to the senatorial craft.

Despite being the youngest, Biden has been there the longest. He was the youngest senator ever elected when, at age 29 in 1972, he upset a Republican incumbent at the same time GOP presidential candidate Richard Nixon carried Delaware easily.

By now, Biden's become a fixture in the ornate chambers and developed a well-deserved reputation for working within the club. His rapport with arch-conservative Senator Strom Thurmond, who leads the GOP on the Judiciary Committee, is legendary.

Biden says, "I don't know if it's because of my nature or because of my responsibilities, but I end up spending a great deal of time trying to reach an accommodation and consensus on issues before my committee, which deals with the most controversial social issues." His panel also handles the highly charged confirmation hearings for federal judges, including nominees for the Supreme Court.

Since coming to the Senate, Biden has enjoyed a considerable reputation as a

Although they never knew each other at Syracuse, Joseph Biden and Alfonse D'Amato have become something of the Senate's odd couple.

speaker. "When he's on," says Senator Joseph Lieberman of Biden, "nobody in the Senate can give a better speech."

Although they never knew each other at Syracuse, Biden and D'Amato have become something of the Senate's odd couple. They socialize together, even though Biden is a liberal Democrat on many issues and D'Amato a conservative Republican. Moreover, their sons, Hunter Biden and Chris D'Amato, became hallmates at Georgetown, which creates something of a generational sports rivalry. The fathers root for the Orangemen come hoop season, while the sons pull for the Hoyas.

D'Amato's loyalty to the Orangemen shouldn't be any surprise. His reputation of looking out for New York is legendary in the Senate, where he's known for his ability to steer federal funds to the Empire State.

"Our office is attuned to being responsive to the little guy—working- and middle-class families," says D'Amato. "We help them get through the federal red tape. Getting someone to listen is not always easy around here. When I was a supervisor [on Long Island], I made up my mind that if I ever got to Washington I wouldn't treat people like the enemy. Doing things for constituents seems insignificant to some, but to those people it's an important matter."

But, says D'Amato, who faces re-election this November, "it doesn't mean just because we are conscientious in fighting for our fair share for the state that we are not equally concerned with important national and international issues."

So it was—in the early spring of 1990, when most Americans considered Iraq and Saddam Hussein more an ally against Iran than a potential foe—that D'Amato began speaking out against the Iraqi leader.

"He was out front about Hussein before a lot of others saw what was happening," says Lieberman. Senator Alan Simpson says D'Amato was "a prophet, saying we should try to get rid of that cold-hearted fellow. He was doing the early battling."

Moynihan, first elected to the Senate in 1976, four years before D'Amato, has become a Washington institution. Over the last quarter century he's been prescient about the problems facing the United States. Long before Ralph Nader, he was passionate about the issue of auto safety. In fact, he did some of his early writing on the subject while at Syracuse.

In the mid-1960s, while serving the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Moynihan was criticized for a report in which he detailed the deterioration of the black family and predicted the resulting social problems. Moynihan also worked in the Republican Nixon administration and in 1976 made his first bid for elected office, winning the Senate seat.

In the seventies, Moynihan discussed the impending demise of the Soviet Union while most Americans worried about the Russian military. In the early eighties, he looked into the drug problem before it was a major public policy concern.

As the leading Democratic member of the bi-partisan commission to rescue Social Security, Moynihan also helped break the deadlock and save the retirement system. Today he is the leading advocate of a controversial plan to cut Social Security taxes, which he says will help the middle class.

Moynihan, perhaps because he doesn't like being stereotyped, hates the description of himself as a "deep thinker" or "philosopher."

"Sure, I concentrate on macro subjects, but I also manage things like the highway bill," he says. "In the Senate you are allowed to do both and I try to do neither to excess. You can only handle so many things at one time."

Rudman, known within Washington as a workhorse who disdains the social set and hates to wear black-tie, has the respect of colleagues on both sides of the political aisle. It was Rudman, not White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, who convinced President Bush to nominate David Souter, Rudman's former deputy when he was state attorney general, to the Supreme Court.

In 1987, when the nation's attention

WASHINGTON REGISTER

Roll Call

Okay, now let's get this straight: You want a list of every Syracusan who's important in this town?

No. We couldn't do that. It'd come back to haunt us—the people we'd miss, the ones we'd underestimate. Syracuse people are absolutely everywhere. Nobody knows them all.

But here's what we'll do, since you insist. Here's just a few names—a sampling of SU alumni who make things happen around here.

Strictly off the record. If you quote us on this, we'll only deny it. . . .

Congress

Representing one of the most diverse Congressional districts in the country, U.S. Congressman **Ted Weiss** '51 (Arts and Sciences), D-New York City, is concerned with a variety of constituent issues, from education to foreign affairs. He has served the 17th Congressional district of New York state since 1977.

As a staff member of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Related Programs Subcommittee, **Bill Schuerch '74, G'76** (Arts and Sciences, Maxwell) tracks international economic issues and travels extensively to review assistance programs.

Cary R. Brick '67 (Arts and Sciences) is serving his 22nd year as a staff member in the House, where he is the senior chief of staff for Representative David Martin, serving the Watertown, New York, area.

Over at the Senate, **Sam Gerdano '77, G'83** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse, Law) is minority chief counsel and staff director for the Subcommittee on Courts and Administrative Practice, Committee on the Judiciary.

Arts and Architecture

Terrie Sultan '73 (Visual and Performing Arts) is the Corcoran Gallery of Art's curator of contemporary art, her post since 1988. Sultan implements programming and conceives major one-person and group thematic exhibitions.

WALTER P. CALHAN

focused on charges that the Reagan White House illegally sold arms to Iran and funnelled profits to the Nicaraguan Contras, he was named as the top Republican on the bi-partisan investigation.

Similarly, as the top Republican on the Senate Ethics Committee, he was vice-chair of the panel that looked into the activities of the five U.S. senators accused of improprieties while trying to help financier Charles Keating.

While handling such dirty linen, Rudman has developed a reputation as being above reproach, even if it means ruffling feathers.

Senator William Cohen, who is one of Rudman's closest friends in the Senate, described him this way to the *New York Times* last year: "He comes at you and hits real hard. He has the manner of a drill instructor and the mind of a general. He's always in charge." —*Peter A. Brown*

The Safety Patrol

The CPSC protects consumers from products, and from themselves.

The chairman of the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission is telling me about a recent product recall.

"Have you ever heard of aerosol string products?" she asks.

I blurt out the brand name that comes to mind.

"I don't mention product names so when you write about it, can you please say 'aerosol string products,'" she requests. "Someone once mentioned a product by name and the [manufacturer] called because his product was fine. It wasn't involved in a recall."

Such are the hazards of **Jacqueline Jones-Smith**'s job, protecting the American public from injuries caused by consumer products without causing manufacturers unnecessary damage in the process.

Many Americans saw the dramatic home video footage, aired on network news, of a torch-like blaze caused when a can of "aerosol string product" was sprayed near a lit birthday cake, burning a child in the process.

The Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) took fast action and the product was off the shelf until it could be reformulated.

As with many injuries, says Jones-

With many injuries, it wasn't the product that caused a problem but the unanticipated use of the product.

Smith, it wasn't the product itself that caused a problem but the unanticipated use of the product.

"The manufacturers, in their effort to make a product that was environmentally safe, had formulated the propellent inside the aerosol string so that it didn't have chlorofluorocarbons," she explains. "But they substituted instead a propellent that was flammable. What they didn't realize was that sometimes children play with this at birthday parties. It may be sprayed on or near a birthday cake. The propellent would catch fire and you'd see a torch effect."

While such episodes attract media attention, recalls are only a small part of the work done by the commission that Jones-Smith leads. The bulk of the CPSC's efforts deal with prevention: conducting research on potential hazards, working with industry to develop safety standards, and educating the public.

"Let's face it, I don't think industry tries to make defective products or to make products that are not in compliance with regulations," she says.

Many injuries occur as the result of what Jones-Smith calls hidden hazards—products that are functional and benign when used correctly, but capable of causing injury or death when they fall into the wrong hands (particularly the hands of children).

"Children strangle on drapery cords, suffocate in plastic bags, and drown in five-gallon buckets," she explains. "You can't do anything to change those particular items, but you can get information out to the consumer so they will remove the plastic bags from children's reach and spill the water out of the five-gallon buckets."

This year the commission began regulatory proceedings to address choking incidents associated with balloons, balls, and marbles, responsible for 70 percent of choking deaths in small children.

"There's a regulation that requires toys for children under three to not have small parts," says Jones-Smith. Balloons, balls, and marbles aren't covered because they're not meant for babies and toddlers, but parents give them to youngsters anyway. "[All parents] think their children are advanced, so they buy toys intended for older children unaware of the choking hazard," she says. The regulatory proceedings may lead to mandatory warning labels.

Jones-Smith, who earned a master's in library science from Syracuse in 1978, was appointed to a seven-year term in October 1989, after serving as a staff attorney with the Federal Election Commission, where she litigated cases before the U.S. appellate courts. She is the highest-ranking Democrat in the Bush administration.

Although she's been chairperson for just a year and a half, she's already earned a bright feather for her cap. Last year Congress re-authorized the CPSC for the first time since 1981.

"If you're not re-authorized it doesn't hamper how you work, but it certainly is a stamp of approval for your program and a renewal of the commission's mandate," she says. "That was a significant accomplishment of my administration and a tremendous vote of confidence for the agency." —*Renée Gearhart Levy*

Peter A. Brown, *who received degrees from the Newhouse School in 1972 (B.A., television and radio production) and 1973 (M.A., newspaper), is the White House correspondent for Scripps Howard News Service.*

Renée Gearhart Levy *is associate editor of* Syracuse University Magazine.

Each year, children head to Washington libraries at the encouragement of Library Theater. Founder **Cherry Adler '50** (Speech and Dramatic Arts) created Library Theater and its Books Alive series— original adaptations of classic children's stories brought to life for 50-minute productions— more than 20 years ago. Today, Library Theater features three companies of professional actors who tour year-round.

The National Symphony Orchestra performs more than 100 times each year at the JFK Center. Organist **William Neil '69** (Visual and Performing Arts) is usually at the keyboard. Neil, who has played the symphony's concert pipe organ since 1983, can be found about town, too, as an instructor and chamber musician.

Projects ranging from the residential conversion of a firehouse to the construction of a summer compound in Maine are the domain of architect **Joanne Goldfarb '57** (Architecture). A director of the Virginia Society of the American Institute of Architects, Goldfarb's own Alexandria residence was the subject of a 1988 *Washington Post* feature.

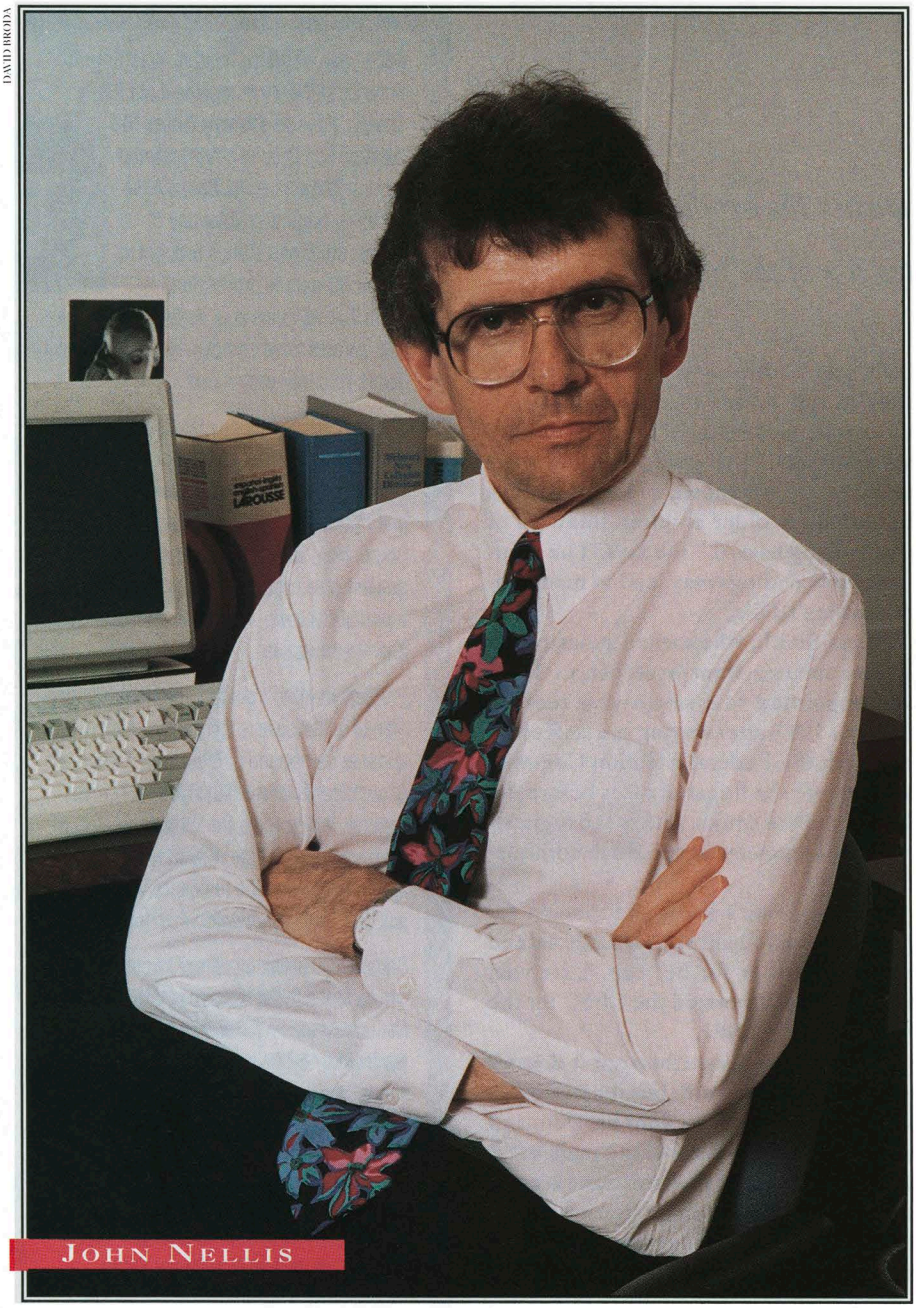
Some 4,000 patent models of textile machines can be found in the division of textiles at the National Museum of American History. **Rita Androsko '52** (Human Development), who serves as supervising curator of that division, oversees 40,000 artifacts in the collection.

Pentagon

The Joint Chiefs of Staff earned high marks for their role in Operation Desert Storm. Among those receiving accolades: **Colonel Judd Blaisdell '71** (Arts & Sciences), chief, Single Integrated Operation Plan, Operations and Planning, and deputy chief, Strategic Offense Branch. His section, which writes the President's nuclear decision handbook, handled the crisis action plan for Desert Storm.

Such strategic decisions are heavily influenced by the financial bottom line, which is the concern of **Sean O'Keefe G'79** (Maxwell), chief financial officer for the Department of Defense, who has direct responsibility for the entire Pentagon budget.

DAVID BRODA



JOHN NELLIS

FOREIGN ACCOUNTS

The World Bank is to economic development as the U.N. is to peace.

With East European satellite states spinning into new economic orbits, the Third World groping toward development, and Persian Gulf reconstruction underway, the World Bank's **John Nellis** finds himself at the nexus of the most vital economic and political issues of the day.

"The World Bank lends—not gives—money to its member countries to support economic development," says Nellis, principal management specialist in the bank's policy and research department. Loans pay for roads, dams, schools, power plants, and ports. The bank also funds technical experts and trains managerial cadre in its 153 member-countries to improve administrative skills.

Since its founding in 1945 as a specialized agency of the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, familiarly known as the World Bank, has loaned its pooled assets to members, fostering capitalism and self-governance around the world. From 1985 to 1990, the bank lent an average of $16 billion a year.

Based in the bank's Washington, D.C., headquarters, Nellis travels the world about 100 days each year. By the time he visits a member country to implement reforms, the government or the bank has already identified impediments to economic development.

Let's say the local electricity company is a grossly mismanaged, wildly inefficient mess. A World Bank team identifies what's wrong, from obsolete generating facilities to incompetent management, and suggests a plan to remedy the problems.

"We look not only at the technical side but the managerial side," says Nellis. "We sign an agreement and negotiate a loan that gives them money to carry out these reforms."

Economic reforms the World Bank recommends are sometimes painful and bruise national pride. "In most instances, governments are delighted to have our collaboration. Some governments say, 'You guys are sticking your noses into our business. Telling us how to spend the money is too much interference.' But in the long run, they accept us because our advice is technically good, and we lend them money at attractive rates of interest."

Member countries must follow the bank's recommendations to get loans, occasionally causing friction. "We diagnose disease and prescribe medicine. If they don't take it, the result can be economic stagnation and even worse poverty in the future," Nellis says. "There are few ways to get out of the problems many countries are in except taking steps that hurt. Economic adjustment postponed is pain compounded."

Each member country is a shareholder represented on the bank's board of directors. Wealthy members like Japan and Germany have votes weighted to reflect their power, but no one country dominates voting. As the bank's largest shareholder, the United States wields only about a 16 percent voting authority on the board.

The World Bank strives to remain apolitical, but human rights abuses and political outrages may cause its vaults to slam shut. "Our lending program to China temporarily stopped after the events in Tiananmen Square," Nellis says. "And if things get really out of hand in a country, our board of directors may declare a halt

"We prescribe medicine. If they don't take it, the result can be economic stagnation," says the World Bank's John Nellis.

to all loans."

Shifting political realities in the Eastern Bloc created new opportunities for the bank and gave it new members. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria are recent World Bank members. These nations, Nellis says, are poorer than once estimated by the West. The excitement generated as they join the world economy is "a hot, timely issue. Lots of people are interested in it.

"But we lend much more money to our traditional borrowers in the Third World than we do to Eastern Europe. The number of people and the depth of the financial and social problems in the Third World outweigh Eastern Europe by far."

In the Middle East, both Kuwait and Iraq are World Bank members, and in the aftermath of the Gulf War the World Bank will play a unique role. "It may be extremely difficult for the United States to enter into a direct reconstructive arrangement in the region. One of the ways in which they can support this process is through the World Bank."

The Soviet Union itself has applied for World Bank membership. "If they get their political and economic act together," Nellis says, "I assume their membership will be looked upon favorably by our board."

In September 1990, Nellis was a member of the first mission of the World Bank to the Soviet Union. "It was great fun," he says. "At enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad, I talked to managers and workers about what's right and what's wrong with the system. Most had a lot to say about what's *wrong*. The economy is a mess."

Nellis and his colleagues collected data that went into a report detailing the current state of the Soviet economy, the steps being taken to remedy problems, and the bank's own recommendations.

The report "talked about the need to change fundamental Soviet economic philosophy to allow private property and sell off assets and facilities now owned by the state," Nellis says. "That has been my particular interest: improving the performance of public enterprises—which are major economic actors in most of the world if not the U.S.—and selling them to the private sector."

The World Bank pays closer attention to how and where its money is spent and boasts a lower default rate than most commercial banks. It also shows a profit and monitors progress on projects it funds.

"A country's credit is shot until debts to the World Bank are made good," Nellis says. "If they stiff us, they'll find it hard to get a penny from anybody else. Dealing with us puts the financial *Good Housekeeping* Seal of Approval on governments."

A native of Syracuse, Nellis earned undergraduate and graduate SU degrees in political science (1960 and '69) before embarking on academic and administrative assignments in Canada and Africa. In the early eighties Nellis served on the Maxwell School faculty before joining the World Bank in 1984.

His job has been the source of personal as well as professional satisfaction. "My father's parents were from Poland, and it was particularly pleasurable to work with Polish authorities, trying to undo the harm the previous system inflicted on their country. —GEORGE LOWERY

GEORGE LOWERY *is a free-lance writer living in Syracuse and former assistant editor of* Syracuse University Magazine.

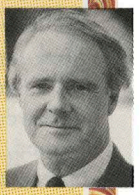
Education

Federal education legislation is a hot topic these days, in and out of Washington. Sitting in the hot seat is **Terry Hartle G'74** (Maxwell), education staff director for the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. Hartle, who works for committee chair Senator Edward Kennedy, leads the committee's design, enactment, and monitoring of federal education legislation. Specifically, he handles issues related to elementary, secondary, and higher education, and science and technology.

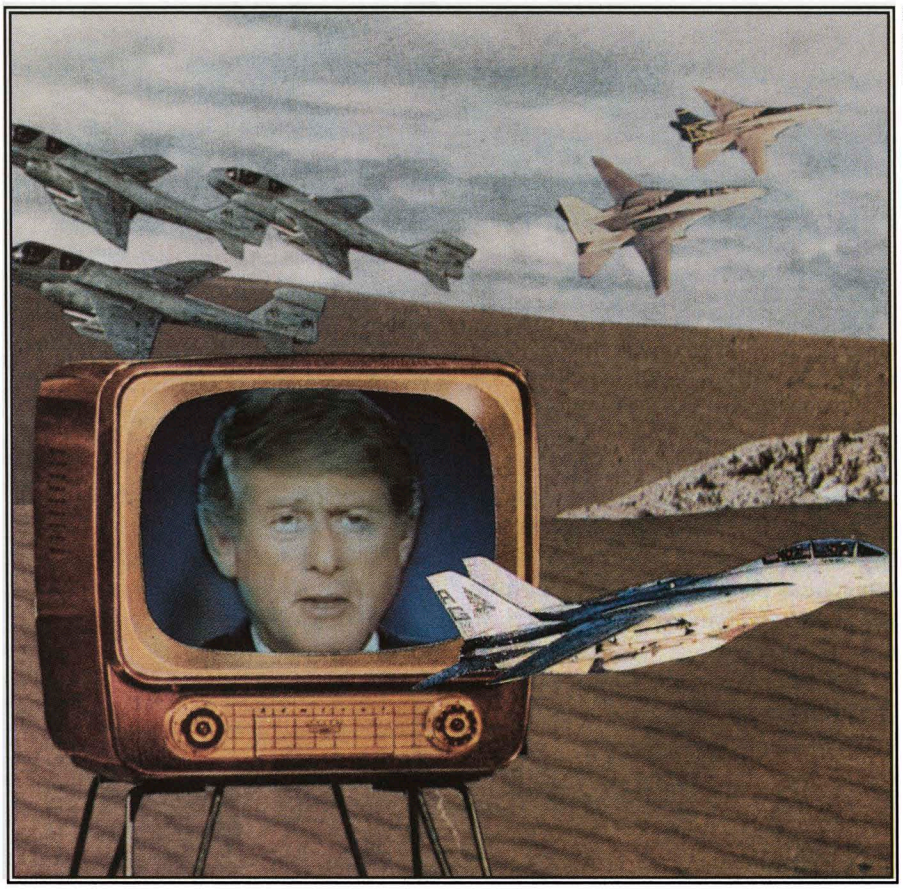
One Dupont Circle is home to the Council of Independent Colleges, one of hundreds of national associations located in and around the Beltway. President **Allen Splete G'69** (Education) directs the council, which represents 300 private liberal arts colleges.

In a nearby suite sits the main offices of the Association of American Universities (AAU), an organization of 56 American and two Canadian universities with strong programs of graduate and professional education and research. AAU Vice President **John C. Crowley G'67, G'77** (Maxwell) specializes in science policy, especially research and advanced education involving the National Science Foundation and Department of Defense.

Higher education is also a primary concern for **Richard F. Rosser G'52, G'59** (Maxwell), who is president and CEO of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities. The organization, which represents more than 800 private colleges and universities, is the national representative of private higher education before the federal government, and helps coordinate legislative efforts in state capitals.



Disabled children and special education are equally dear subjects to **Robert Davila G'72** (Education), who serves as assistant secretary for special education and rehabilitative services. Davila works to promote collaboration between various disability and advocacy groups and among special educators, vocational rehabilitation, and research professionals.



MARTY BLAKE

SHOULD HAVE BEEN THERE

The show opened in Iraq, and the press arrived without a ticket.

For most of the Washington power structure, the War in the Gulf generated an aura of good feeling: the high-tech weapons worked, skilled troops performed, and a united public cheered the operation.

For many in the Washington press corps, however, the aftermath is tinged with somber reflection. As the war rushed to its decisive conclusion, they found themselves squeezed in a pincer of military restrictions and public criticism.

Still smarting from Vietnam—a war many generals believe the press "lost"—the Pentagon imposed unprecedented restraints on journalists in the Gulf. Military officials briefed the press in a hotel ballroom in Riyadh, and on occasion escorted small pools of them to the front. News gathered was news shared.

And the public approved. At his last Pentagon briefing, Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly said he'd received about a thousand letters from Americans and "95 percent of them said we're being told everything we need to know." Members of the press, such as **Ted Koppel, David French**, and **Mel Elfin**, are left to figure out what it means.

To *Nightline*'s Koppel, a 1960 SU graduate in speech and dramatic arts, the restrictions undermined the very essence of American journalism. "The great strength of American journalism—of journalism in any free society—is competition." And the winner in this competition, says the veteran ABC News correspondent, is the American public. "CBS works harder because NBC exists. NBC works harder because ABC and CNN exist." he says. "If I am looking over my shoulder and see that NBC and CBS and CNN are there, I am going to work twice as hard to try to beat them on the story, to get information that otherwise would not be there."

The pool rules defeated that. While he acknowledges "you can't have 1,200 reporters just randomly running around the battlefield," Koppel says military officials could have figured out ways for groups of reporters to go out with different divisions and gather news independently. "You don't have to have a pool," he says, "You can draw names out of a hat." Even during the air war, he adds, there were places in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and parts of Iraq where reporters could have worked on their own.

Setting out alone is risky, but that's always been part of the war correspondent's job. The public, says Koppel, is much the better for it. During the Vietnam War, "as a young kid in my twenties," Koppel says he and an ABC News crew slipped across the Thai border into both Laos and Cambodia. "Was I taking a tremendous chance?" he asks. "Yes!"

But that enterprise put pressure on CBS and NBC to match it, creating the competition that goes to the very heart of the democratic process: providing a range of choices in the media marketplace of ideas. "The fact that we are all out there gives the public a chance to sample, compare, and contrast, and ultimately come to some sort of reality that resembles the truth," says Koppel.

During the Gulf War, another aspect of the military restrictions further handcuffed the press: the government controlled the information. While Koppel says the military briefings were an efficient way to get an "enormous amount" of information to the huge press corps, it's important to be alert to a fundamental truth about institutions: They are selective about what they reveal.

As he puts it, "A government doesn't have to lie for the public to be misled. Any institution, as a matter of self-preservation, will provide only information that puts it in the best possible light. It simply tells you what it wants to tell you and doesn't tell you what would reflect negatively. . . . Someone has to dig it up."

During a war, of course, most journalists accept some form of censorship. No one wants to report anything that could harm the troops in the field or help the enemy. But Koppel says the government often conceals failures by citing national security.

It was well after war's end, for example, that the Air Force conceded 70 percent of the non-smart bombs missed their targets. Koppel says it's a "little bit specious" to claim the press could have given aid and comfort to the enemy by reporting that. "It was no secret to the Iraqis that 70 percent of the bombs weren't hitting their targets. They clearly knew that. *They* were the 70 percent.

"One of the insidious things about censorship," says Koppel, "is that I can't prove

As Ted Koppel puts it, "A government doesn't have to lie for the public to be misled."

a negative. I don't know what I didn't get. All I know is that as a journalist of more than 30 years standing, I want to be free, to go out and look for myself and ask my own questions." He expects a lot to come out in the next weeks and months "that didn't exactly play the way we were led to believe." By then, of course, it will be too late to influence those events.

He notes that two administrations have now waged war far from the watchful eye of the press. "They tried it in Grenada, they tried it in Panama, and now Kuwait and Iraq. And they found it serves their purposes very well . . . .

"This war happened to go brilliantly," he says. It's a short leap for the Pentagon, and perhaps the public, to conclude that the war went well *because* the press was kept in check. And that, according to Koppel, is a slippery slope for a democracy that rests on a free and independent press. "It frightens me that the American public is so easily prepared to give up one of the most valuable freedoms and rights that it has."

Koppel doesn't expect the public to love a skeptical and critical press, but "to recognize the nature of its own freedom and not be in too much of a rush to substitute for those freedoms something that I assure you is going to be a lot worse."

There is conviction in his voice as he quotes another leader in another war. Winston Churchill once described democracy as "the world's worst form of government, with the possible exception of every other kind." Koppel says the same can be said of American journalism.

World War II also provided a framework for another Syracusan in Washington, D.C., central to Gulf War coverage. Wednesday is usually a day off for CNN's David French, a 1965 Newhouse graduate. But on this particular Wednesday, January 16, he was sitting in for anchor Bernard Shaw. Shaw was in Baghdad's Al Rashid Hotel, waiting for an interview with Saddam Hussein.

As he worked around the house that afternoon, French listened to some radio tapes from World War II. "I listened to Murrow from London. I wanted that inspiration. I wanted to be mentally ready."

For millions of television viewers in the United States and 103 other countries, he was. When a voice screamed into his earpiece at 6:35 p.m., "We've got to go to Baghdad," he took the world along to its first real-time television war.

Ironically, that evening's dramatic and exclusive reports were more like the radio tapes French had been listening to. "The most riveting reporting of the whole war was on the telephone that first night," says French.

In what became one of the most talked-about press issues of the war, only CNN was able to cover the war from where it was happening. "I think the Pentagon went to extraordinary lengths to avoid hitting the Al Rashid Hotel. That's where they got their best information. They didn't want to take those eyes away," says French.

Indeed, later that evening Defense Secretary Richard Cheney essentially referred all reporters to CNN for "the best account of what was happening in Baghdad."

CNN may have kept the military informed, but French bristles at the tight lid the military kept on its information. "None of us wants to give an enemy an advantage through reporting." But he says censorship in the name of national security when it's really "political security" can be dangerous. "The generals don't understand the Constitution," he says. "America is about freedom of the press. That's at the top, unless you fear the truth."

He goes on, "We still don't have the truth. We don't know how smart those smart bombs really were. We just know the successes. We don't know if it took 20 duds before one target was hit, or 2,000 duds."

He says military planners should be more concerned about military matters, like "teaching their troops how to avoid friendly fire," and not worrying so much about reporters willing to take the risk of being in the field.

In fact, he blames the pool system for the capture of CBS News correspondent Bob Simon and his crew, because "all reporters worth the name will get around the rules," and that will drive them into a "boxed canyon where the enemy can shoot them."

Interest Groups and Lobbyists

The National Association of Home Builders—a 157,000-member organization—recently implemented several new programs to address challenges facing the housing industry. As CEO and executive vice president of the association, **Kent W. Colton G' 68** (Maxwell) is responsible for developing such policies and overseeing the 277-member staff.

Employee benefits—they can make or break a job. Nobody knows this better than **Dallas Salisbury G'73** (Maxwell), president of the D.C.-based Employee Benefit Research Institute. The organization, which assists employees and employers alike, gathers, documents, analyzes, and communicates the facts that shape employee benefit programs across the country.

When New York City Mayor David Dinkins needs support for his city at the federal level, he turns to the city's Washington office. There, director **Judy Chesser '70** (Arts and Sciences) and eight lobbyists work to represent the interests of the Big Apple before the federal government.

When any division of the $20-million United Technologies Corporation has questions about acquisition regulations set by the government, they call upon USAF Retired Lt. General **Hans Driessnack '51** (Engineering) for assistance. As director of government acquisition policy, requirements, and analysis, he helps UTC's product divisions interpret and comply with regulations.

More than 1,400 cities, towns, and villages, and nearly 50 leagues in this country are members of the National League of Cities (NLC), a non-profit advocacy organization. **William E. Davis III G'70** (Maxwell) is director of the NLC's education and information resource center, where he tackles an array of municipal matters and public affairs issues.

Like most professional associations, the American Academy of Physicians Assistants promotes public education and research, and lobbies on issues important to them. **Nicole Gara '68** (Arts and Sciences) is director of government and professional affairs for the organization.

French also finds it distressing that the public did not object to the restrictions, which suggested to him an education system that has failed to teach the virtues of a free press. "Too many people are ready to go along with those who would kill the messengers."

Those who know Mel Elfin, a prominent member of Washington's Fourth Estate, won't be surprised that his observations of the press and the Gulf War are what he calls "counter-conventional."

Elfin has been in the business since he graduated from SU's School of Journalism in 1951. For the 20 tumultuous years between 1965 and 1985, he was Washington bureau chief for *Newsweek*. He's now at *U.S. News & World Report*, where he is special reports editor.

"I find that journalists—unlike the generals in the Gulf—were fighting the last war." Vietnam, and its credibility gap, launched a generation of skeptical, adversarial reporters, many of whom ended up in the hotel press center in Riyadh. "For them, Vietnam became the model of how you cover a war, how you get a great reputation as a journalist," says Elfin.

But it was totally different in the desert. No villagers to mingle with. No sampling of the hearts and minds of the countryside. No marches with ground troops to the front. No opportunities for exclusives. In the Gulf, says Elfin, "There wasn't much to see. It was an air war for six weeks and a ground war for four days."

So the press got frustrated and lashed out at the restrictions. "Fact is, this was not a journalists' war. There were no ambiguities to investigate. The press is great when there are ambiguities."

There had been plenty, however, in Saigon. The press derided the daily military briefings as the "five o'clock follies" of exaggeration and deception. In contrast, Elfin gives high marks to the Gulf War's military briefers at the Pentagon and in Riyadh, calling them a "pretty honest group" not about to repeat the mistakes of the Westmoreland-era briefings.

But reporters, molded by that same Vietnam legacy, remained deeply skeptical of the military in the Gulf. Elfin says they tended to examine the statements not so much for the truths they might contain, "but for the untruths. And that leads to nit-picking."

The free-wheeling televised press briefings also created "those horrific public opinion polls" about the press. No one expects the press to be "bosom buddies" with the military, he says, "but it was an adversarial relationship that didn't have to be adversarial."

As for the restrictions that kept the press in military-escorted pools, Elfin says, "the press corps has grown so large there are press pools everywhere, including the White House." If the press had been allowed to wander, Elfin feared there would have been "more Bob Simons." "But what would they have gotten? Where would they go?" he asks. "This was not that kind of war."

To Elfin, Watergate and Vietnam are history. He says the challenge for today's press is to deal with the falsities that come out of our government every day, but "to do it without a chip on our shoulder, without believing that every detail is another Watergate." —*Tina Press*

Tina Press is a free-lance writer and former broadcast journalist living in Fayetteville, New York.

Toe the Line

The Redskin's Art Monk is a few catches short of immortality.

Washington Redskins receivers coach Charley Taylor still remembers a trip he made to Syracuse when he was a scout for the team in 1979.

"I was supposed to look at a defensive back and a running back who could be switched to receiver," Taylor once recalled. "I was looking at the DB when I heard these hoofbeats behind me. It was a running back returning punts. I watched him all that day and then I talked to him for a while and watched some game films. I came back to Washington and said we had to take this guy. There was no doubt we had a steal."

That Orangeman, whom Washington drafted in the first round of the 1980 draft, was a wiry kid named **Art Monk**. Eleven years later, Monk is still starting for the Redskins and just 90 catches short of surpassing Steve Largent as the most prolific receiver in NFL history.

And despite a reticent nature, Monk was voted the most popular Redskin, ahead of such luminaries as Sonny Jurgensen, Sammy Baugh, and John Riggins, in a fan poll celebrating the team's 50th season in Washington.

That says a lot, because other than complaints about the traffic-snarled beltway that encircles the city, the Redskins are one of the few things that all Washingtonians have in common.

Marylanders don't care about Northern Virginia's problems and District residents don't worry about the quality of the schools in the Maryland suburbs. The monuments and museums are for tourists. The NBA Bullets and the NHL Capitals have never really grabbed the area's imagination, and there are too many colleges for any one school to dominate loyalties.

But the Redskins, who have been the NFL's second-best team after San Francisco during Monk's tenure, are to Washington what SU is to Syracuse. If the Redskins lose on Sunday, downtown is gloomy on Monday. And for 11 years, Monk's quiet efficiency—116 straight games with a reception— has been prized in a city known for bureaucracy and bombast.

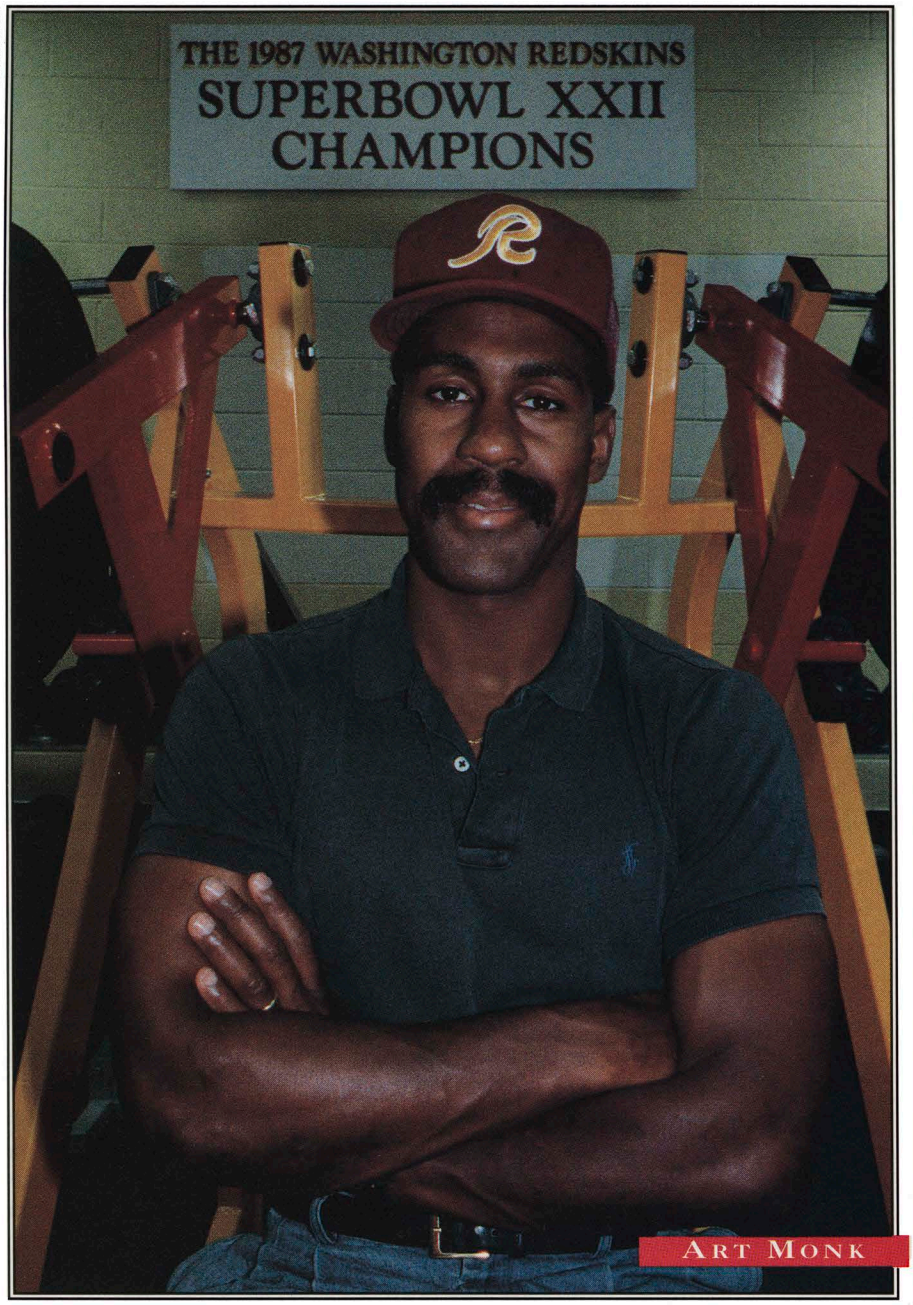
"Art's been a model of consistency," says Redskins general manager Charley Casserly. "We didn't see any drop-off last year and we don't expect any next season. Art has outstanding work habits in the off-season. We ask him to catch a lot of balls in traffic, but he has tremendous toughness. He still has a young body. Art doesn't run quite as fast as he did 10 year ago. But in our play-off victory over Philadelphia, he went down the sidelines for a long touchdown. He's still a 4.65 [40-yard dash] guy."

"Neither Art nor Charley has blinding speed," says Redskins assistant general manager Bobby Mitchell, who, like Taylor and Monk, was a college running back before becoming a Hall of Fame receiver. "You could outrun them in a race, but put them on a football field and it's a different story. And both of them have that sixth sense. You know how some people, when they're driving, are able to think ahead and know what's going to happen in front of them? That's what both Art and Charley have on the football field—that knack of thinking ahead."

Frank Maloney, SU football coach in the late-seventies, saw a potential star in the national champion hurdler from White Plains.

"We didn't know if Art was going to be a running back, receiver, or a defensive back,

DAVID BRODA



That's what Art Monk has on the football field—that knack of thinking ahead," says assistant GM Bobby Mitchell.

but we knew he was a great athlete," says Maloney, now the ticket manager for the Chicago Cubs. "In his sophomore year, we finally settled on him at wingback, which allowed him to run the ball and catch passes coming out of the backfield."

The Orangemen lost more often than they won in Monk's three years as a starter, but they had an exciting offense led by Monk, quarterback Bill Hurley, and running back Joe Morris.

As a sophomore in 1977, Monk set a Syracuse record with 14 catches in a 45-34 victory over Navy. His 41 catches that season were a class record until Rob Moore caught 44 in 1989. While picking up a B.S. in speech communications, Monk finished his SU gridiron career with more than 1,000 yards

Since last summer, **Susan M. Walter '69, G'71** (Arts and Sciences, Maxwell) has been vice president for state government relations for General Electric. She is coauthor of *America in Ruins*, an analysis of public infrastructure problems in the country.

Most of us take our favorite soft drinks for granted. Not **Anthony Brunetti '61** (Arts and Sciences), who is the science director at the National Soft Drink Association in D.C. He deals with regulatory and legislative issues of foods and food additives.

Trade, health, and international issues are among the topics that Johnson and Johnson's federal lobbyist **James P. Schlicht '76** (Maxwell) addresses in D.C. Schlicht is the company's director of government relations.

Business

Dart Financial had a record year for earnings in 1990, under the leadership of **Linda Haft '72** (Management). Dart Financial's umbrella company, the Dart Group, is best known for netting huge profits on unsuccessful takeover bids. With stock profits on each bid ranging from $1 million to $150 million, Dart, which owns Trak Auto and Crown Books, gives new meaning to the word failure.

The corporate community rising around Dulles International Airport is another project from West*Group, which introduced the giant office parks to metropolitan Washington 25 years ago. **Gerald Halpin '50** (Arts and Sciences) is CEO of West*Group, whose commercial space holdings total more than 8.25 million square feet.

He's not the only real-estate mogul in suburbia. **Paul Greenberg '65** (Arts and Sciences) is president of Greenberg Realty of Bethesda, Maryland. Greenberg Realty is one of the major developers of single-family housing in the D.C. metropolitan area.

Craving a corned beef sandwich? A slice of strawberry cheesecake? Look no further than Duke Zeibert's, the landmark restaurant where proprieter **Randy Zeibert '70** (Management) serves up *haute* deli fare, with some of the best celebrity-watching in town.

each in running, receiving, and kick returns.

"Art had great concentration, tremendous hands, good speed, and at 6-foot-3 he could really go up and get the football," Maloney says, "but the biggest thing that stands out in my mind about Art is that he never missed a game or a practice in four years. He was an outstanding guy to coach. Art was a good soldier."

Monk has praised Taylor for helping develop his talent, but Taylor says he did little polishing.

"Other than getting him to work on his feet"—Monk's now a master at keeping his toes in-bounds on his trademark down-and-out pattern—"Art didn't have to be taught," Taylor says. "He was a natural."

Monk broke Taylor's Redskins rookie record with 58 catches in 1980, but he didn't really gain the spotlight until 1984, when he set a pro football record with 106 catches. That total included 11 in the season finale against St. Louis, a game Washington needed to win to make the play-offs. On a fourth-and-20 during Washington's winning drive, Monk gained 21 yards, enabling the Redskins to pull out a 29-27 victory.

Monk followed up his 106-catch season with 91 receptions in 1985 and a third straight 1,000-yard season in 1986. He just keeps catching passes. His career numbers now stand at 730 catches, 9,935 yards, and 52 touchdowns. With 21 more grabs, he'll overtake Charlie Joiner for second place and then only Largent will remain ahead.

Monk, who has two years left on a contract worth an estimated $1 million annually, said he doesn't think much about the record. But could he walk away so close to the record to pursue his beloved fishing, spend more time with his wife, Desiree, and their three children, or to manage his business interests, which include a restaurant, a graphics company, and a football camp?

"That's bull about Art not caring about the record or the Hall of Fame," Taylor says. "We're all in this profession to be the best. I see Art playing a long time still. I don't think anything can stop him but himself.

—*David Elfin*

David Elfin, *who earned an M.S. from the Newhouse School in 1982, is a sportswriter for the* Washington Times.

MARTY BLAKE

Interested Parties

Lobbying can be a natural tool of democratic plurality.

When it comes to identifying Washington's most controversial players, there is no contest. The distinction belongs to lobbyists, those men and women who ply the marble hallways of Congress seeking to affect the course of government and legislation.

By the most unflattering accounts, lobbyists are high-paid hired guns whose disproportionate influence and campaign contributions corrupt the political process.

But the opposing school of thought holds that they are foot soldiers for democracy. Defenders say lobbyists are a natural part of the process, a necessary conduit for information. They help government make the kind of informed decisions the Founding Fathers intended.

"I am not at all embarrassed to say this is what I do," says **Samuel F. Shawhan Jr.**, vice president in charge of government affairs for GTE Service Corp. in Washington and a 1955 graduate of the School of Management. "It's a vital process."

While lobbying "is often cast in a sinister light, it is far from that," he says.

Howard A. Menell, who earned a B.A. in political science from SU in 1967, is a lawyer-lobbyist in private practice and former chief lobbyist for American Express. He says his profession "is a forum for advocacy in the most positive sense. It is the way in which Americans petition their government as provided for in the Constitution.

"Unfortunately," he adds, "it's become a pejorative term."

One reason is the highly publicized ethics case involving failed savings-and-loan operator Charles Keating's lobbying of five U.S. Senators.

Richard L. Thompson, senior lobbyist and vice president for government affairs for Bristol-Myers Squibb Co., says he believes the Keating Five case was "an aberration." The vast array of interests lobbying Congress provides a system of checks and balances that assures the public interest will prevail, he says.

All told, nearly 6,000 individuals or groups representing some 11,000 clients are registered to lobby the 102nd Congress. That's more than 20 interests or groups for every lawmaker.

"Substance has overtaken a lot of the political considerations I think used to

"There's been an overreaction in this climate of ethical uncertainity," says lobbyist Howard A. Menell.

dominate the lobby process," says Thompson, who graduated from the Maxwell School in 1967. "Your issue, in many cases, is looked at more closely on its merits. The bottom line is you go to the Hill taking quite a risk if you don't know what you're talking about."

The lobbyist-lawmaker relationship, whether made in heaven or gone to seed, is undergoing re-examination from both sides. Lobbyists are changing the way they approach their jobs. Lawmakers are, too, but they also want to change the laws that govern lobbyists.

Above all, the watchword is caution. Both sides in the equation say they now take special measures to assure that their efforts are above reproach and not open to misrepresentation.

"I think you have to be more conscious of the perception and the appearance that [lobbying] activity involves," says **Edmund F. Perry**, a vice president for government relations for IBM, who holds a B.A. in political science (1972) and M.P.A. (1973) from Syracuse.

The company's nine lobbyists, who specialize in issues ranging from taxes to the environment, follow a rigid in-house code of ethics, Perry says. But now, "I think you have to go one step further: 'How would that be perceived in a story in the newspaper, on the nightly news?'"

Menell, whose clients include those with interests in securities and computers, says senators he has known for years now routinely pass him off to staff.

"There's been an overreaction in this climate of ethical uncertainty," he says.

"I don't know that I'd call it nervousness as much as an awareness," says **Paul Jacobson**, a 1980 Newhouse graduate and press secretary to Senator Warren Rudman, who was vice chairman of the ethics committee that considered the Keating Five case. "There's definitely a new awareness and level of concern," Jacobson says.

Congress, under fire, has pushed for campaign finance reforms. President Bush, most Republicans, and some Democrats propose eliminating political action committees, or PACs.

Through PACs, company employees and lobby groups pool their money and contribute a maximum of $10,000 to a candidate in an election cycle. In 1990, PACs gave $159.3 million to federal candidates.

Even some lobbyists want reform. Because of "a kind of arms race" in campaign spending in the eighties, "it became almost a central part of your effectiveness as a lobbyist, your credibility as a lobbyist, your access as a lobbyist to be able to raise and distribute campaign money," Menell says.

But other lobbyists, like Shawhan of GTE, insist money from lobbying groups is not the problem. "I guess the question is, can $10,000 . . . prompt a member of Congress to do something they would not do otherwise?" he says. "Do I think PACs corrupt the process? No I don't."

GTE's PAC, with 6,200 employee members, gave $420,131 to federal candidates in 1990 and was the 29th biggest-spending corporate PAC. "Frankly, we're quite proud of it," Shawhan says.

Still, lobbyists are adjusting for the sensitive times. Instead of relying strictly on Washington lobbyists, companies increasingly send top officials to testify before Congress or meet with lawmakers. And the number of these executives heading study groups to solve social problems or other public ills is on the rise.

Lobby interests are creating coalitions to push shared interests. One model, Thompson said, is an alliance between pharmaceutical manufacturers and the National Organization for Rare Diseases, which promoted legislation rewarding drug companies for producing medicines that might not be profitable.

IBM goes beyond standard lobbying practices by offering lawmakers and their staffs information about its latest technology or insight into the impact U.S. policies are having on its facilities or 380,000 employees, Perry says.

The uncertain times also have led lobbyists back to basics.

"The most effective way to lobby is

The largest accounting firm in the world is not Price Waterhouse, but KPMG Peat Marwick, for which **Carol Swan G'87** (Maxwell), director of adminstration for the Policy Economics Group, provides fiscal, tax, and administrative advice to clients.

Bobby Cohen '65 (Arts and Sciences) is keeping Washington clean. His Daycon Products, the originators of Endust, has captured a major share of the greater D.C. maintenance supplies market, including hospitals, governmental agencies, and buildings. Cohen also heads Ro/Co, the mid-Atlantic water treatment company, and Aqua-Air Service Company.

Press

William Safire '51 (Arts and Sciences), writer for the *New York Times*, is one of the country's best-known and respected columnists and political pundits. Safire worked as a White House speechwriter for Richard Nixon and is the author of a number of best-selling books. He has been called the "thinking man's conservative," because of his conservative but pragmatic political beliefs.

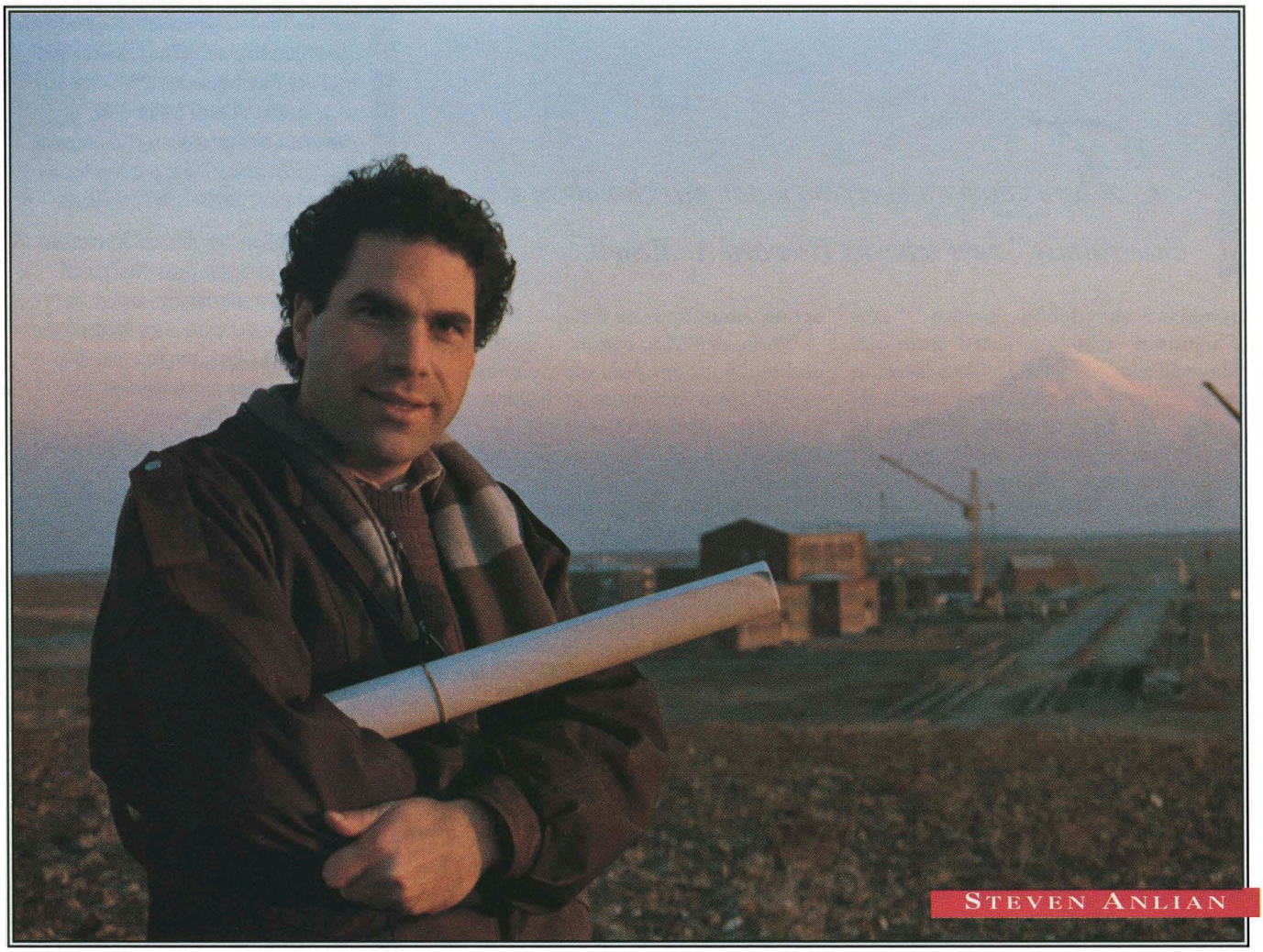
Also working for the *Times* in Washington is **Robin Toner '76** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse), a national political correspondent. She has been with the *Times* since 1985.

A different *Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, maintains a large Washington bureau. Its national politics correspondent is **Robert Shogan '51** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse), among other writers there.

Each day **Sidney Hurlburt '61** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse) decides who will debate the nation's most pressing issues on the pages of America's most widely read newspaper, *USA Today*. Hurlburt is the daily's editor of columns, where he lines up guest columnists for the editorial page.

Angela Robinson '78 (Newhouse) is weeknight co-anchor for WTTG's *Ten O'Clock News*. Last year she was nominated best anchor by the National Association of Black Journalists.

The war in the Persian Gulf kept Capitol Hill chronicler **Pamela Fessler G'79** (Maxwell) busy. As a senior writer at *Congressional Quarterly*, she covers defense and foreign policy matters.


STEVEN ANLIAN

still grass roots," says Thompson of Bristol-Myers, which manufactures household staples such as Windex and the Clairol line. Going for the grass roots means mobilizing company employees and focusing efforts on lawmakers who represent those employees— those voters—across the country. —*Susan Feeney*

Relief Effort

After the earthquake, Steven Anlian planned an entire Armenian city.

Late in 1988, **Steven J. Anlian** received an invitation to spearhead relief efforts in the D.C. area for victims of the devastating Armenian earthquake of December 7, which killed thousands of Armenians and left millions more homeless.

Anlian, a land planner and landscape architect, and the grandson of Armenian immigrants, seemed a logical person to organize such a campaign. "I was in the right line of work and I was the token Armenian," he says jokingly.

But within a few short months, his modest fund-raising campaign took a dramatic twist. At the encouragement of a colleague, Anlian decided to take what would become a one-year leave of absence from his firm to travel to Armenia and help rebuild the shattered republic.

The Soviet government put him right to work. Shortly after his arrival, they assigned him the job of master-planning a new Armenian city for 25,000 people. From scratch, he planned everything from road systems, parks, and irrigation structures to housing units, sewers, and schools.

Even before Anlian left for the Soviet Union in July 1989, he knew what it took to organize immense development projects. Since the start of his career in 1976 with HOH, a planning and landscape architectural firm headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia, Anlian has played a prominent role in large-scale projects, including the design of St. Charles, a planned city in the Maryland suburbs of Washington.

"I like the large-scale projects," he says. "I like the strategies that are involved. I like the fact that it touches on every aspect of life. . . . You can't design a large project without assuring that it's going to fit into a larger whole. You have to keep an eye on what the road systems are doing. You have

Susan Feeney *is a Washington correspondent for the* Dallas Morning News, *and a 1983 graduate of the Newhouse School.*

Mary Ellen Mengucci *is associate editor of* Syracuse University Magazine. *She earned an M.A. in magazine journalism from the Newhouse School last month.*

Nothing could fully prepare Steven Anlian for the obstacle-laden Soviet system. "I can't say it's a system I really respect."

to look at such things as solid waste, sewer capacity, water supply. Where are the people going to shop? Where are they going to worship. . . . You can truly create your own sense of place."

But nothing, including the backing of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Fulbright Scholar Program, could fully prepare Anlian for the obstacle-laden, centralized system that he confronted. "I can't say it's a system I really respect. Meaning the Soviet system," says Anlian. One of the main reasons so many buildings and homes fell in the earthquake, he explains, is that the Soviets created the structures with a prototype design used nationwide. "They were not custom designed for seismically vulnerable areas such as Armenia." As a result, they crumbled.

Anlian did his best to work within the system, though. "Things were so crucial. There was a critical problem with housing for the people, so you didn't want to do anything that would delay reconstruction further," he says.

Anlian master-planned Bagramian, a new town in northwestern Armenia near the Turkish border. When construction is completed on the 1,500-acre site, the new city will be home to both earthquake victims and Armenian refugees fleeing neighboring Azerbaijan.

Initially, Anlian spent much of his time touring other Armenian cities, observing architectural styles, customs, and traditions. "I tried to incorporate some of the good planning principles I had learned over the years, but at the same time I tried not to ignore any of the cultural elements of their society," says Anlian, who received bachelor's degrees from SU in 1975 and 1976 in environmental science and landscape architecture.

"On single-family homes I always had to provide the trail from the house to the animal hutch in the back, where [Armenians] usually also have their own gardens, their own orchards, a little area for a cow or some chickens. And I kept forgetting those little trails."

On the other hand, Anlian provided much less space for parking and garages than he would for an American city. "Because of America's love affair with the automobile, we have to provide lots of parking and every house has to have two off-street parking spaces. . . . That's because our average family has two cars. But in Armenia, only one family out of 10 has a car. So I had to learn what their design standards were."

To ease the language barrier, Anlian, an accomplished pianist, often used his musical skills to break the ice with his new friends. He also learned basic Armenian. At Bagramian planning meetings, "I would start off in Armenian. I would say, 'Good day to you. I'm glad you're all here. I'm going to present my project to you today, but if you don't mind, to move things along, I'm going to ask my interpreter to take over from here.'" Periodically, Anlian would jump back into the conversation, an approach that created good rapport with his design team.

As an American heading up an Armenian project, Anlian says he experienced no resentment from his co-workers or neighbors. "The Armenians really treated me like a native son. They are really warm people and they were so grateful for the help." But Anlian admits, "When they found out you were Armenian, they loved you even more."

While there, Anlian met and married Nuné Gevorgian, a native Armenian, who returned to Washington with him last July. Though distance and his role as vice president of HOH prevent Anlian from remaining involved in Bagramian, he plans to visit Armenia this summer to monitor construction progress, and of course, visit his new relatives.

—*Mary Ellen Mengucci*

After being vice president of the network's Washington bureau for almost 20 years, **Eugene Cowen '48, G'54** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse, Maxwell) is now a consultant to Capital Cities/ABC Inc.

A genuine institution of Washington journalism is *National Geographic*. Most of those *Geographic* maps you see hanging in classrooms and offices fall under the purview of **John B. Garver G'66, G'81** (Maxwell). He is the magazine's senior assistant editor and chief cartographer.

Policy and Public Interest

The current appointment process discourages people with the most expertise from accepting presidential appointments, says **Mark A. Abramson G'73** (Maxwell), president of the Council for Excellence in Government, a nonpartisan group of former senior government officials, which advocates a reexamination of the process. The key, he says, is to create a good working relationship among political appointees and career civil servants.

Promoting private initiatives for the public good, encouraging citizenship and private philanthropy, and advocating for increased volunteerism—these are the job duties of **Brian O'Connell G'54** (Maxwell). He is president of Independent Sector, a national coalition of 800 foundations, corporations, and national voluntary organizations.

The best known of the Marble City's many think tanks is the Brookings Institution, where **James L. Sundquist G'41** (Maxwell) is senior fellow emeritus of the governmental studies program. During his 20-year tenure, the former civil servant wrote six books and numerous articles on government and politics.

How do Western Europeans view Americans? What kind of movies interest Korean audiences? **Kenneth Adler '48** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse) can find the answers. A public opinion consultant, Adler previously spent 25 years with the U.S. Information Agency conducting research surveys in Europe, East Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

MARTY BLAKE

COMPUTER AGE

Imagine an IRS of exemplary efficiency. It could happen.

Naftali Rimon couldn't figure it out. He had completed his tax return meticulously, attached the supporting documents, and mailed it a few days before the April 15 deadline. But two months later, he still hadn't received his refund.

When a telephone call didn't help, he wrote to the local Internal Revenue Service office in Philadelphia. Again. And again. Over the course of the next year or so, he wrote about six letters to the IRS, each time providing another piece of information the agency asked for. Finally, the IRS acknowledged it couldn't find his return. Could he please send a copy?

It wasn't until the fall of 1988, roughly a year and a half after he had filed his 1987 return, that he received his tax refund: a check for $64, including $3 in interest.

Why did it take the IRS so long to resolve a simple problem? Blame it on the agency's aging computers, most dating to the sixties, which are only now being replaced. The agency's computers are so hopelessly out of date that even simple matters like changes in addresses or transposed names can cause snafus, admits **Mark D. Cox**, the man leading the agency's drive toward modernization of its computer systems and a 1986 graduate of SU's Maxwell School (M.P.A.).

"The system was designed in an era when computing power was an expensive commodity, so that anytime you had a question, instead of letting a computer try to match information, it was kicked out for someone to look at it and make sure it was right," says Cox, a 20-year veteran of the service and newly appointed assistant commissioner for information systems development.

Cox's job, as an "orchestra leader" of the computer modernization project, is one likely to keep him busy for many, many years. His role is to oversee the design, acquisition, and installation of new computer systems and make sure there are no glitches in the process. Upgrading the technology is a Herculean task expected to cost between $6 billion and $8 billion. It is unlikely to be finished until the end of the century, depending on the speed of Congressional funding. The service expects to spend $278 million on modernizing its computers this year alone, with another $450 million budgeted for the 1992 fiscal year.

Assisting Cox on this mammoth project is **Judith B. Douglas**, another SU graduate—B.A. in American studies (1977) and M.P.A. (1981)—whose role is to advise him on management operations. Loosely defined, that means trouble shooter. "I work on a lot of ad hoc projects at the pleasure of Mr. Cox, when he sees an issue that he feels he needs a little closer insight into, or if he sees a problem arising," she says.

Updating the service's massive computer systems is not going to be easy. Most of the returns—about 200 million were filed last year—are first received by the IRS's 10 service centers on paper, then transcribed by clerks into computers, leaving room for mistakes. To add to the confusion, the 18,000 agents who visit taxpayers to examine records are armed with portable computers, but can only use them to perform basic mathematical calculations. They don't even have access to the taxpayer's returns or master records stored in the service's computing center in Martinsburg, West Virginia. Nor can they plug their computers into the latest revenue rulings, procedures, or other documents from the service's database.

But all this will change soon.

If the overhaul of the service's computers proceeds smoothly—and *that*, in the minds of many inside and outside Washington, D.C., is still a big if—taxpayers will be able to receive refunds faster and have their tax problems solved with astonishing speed— in hours or minutes. By the mid-1990s, Cox envisages, taxpayers will be able to phone representatives who will pull up their tax records on computer screen, answer questions, take down new information, or solve billing problems in the same manner as customer-service representatives at a local telephone company.

"It would be more of a case-folder approach to the taxpayer as opposed to just providing specific information," Cox says.

And with faster, more efficient computers, the service hopes to bolster its ability to receive tax-return funds via computer. Already, since the service began overhauling its computers a couple of years ago, millions of taxpayers have begun filing returns electronically via the likes of

VINEETA ANAND *is a financial writer for* Investor's Daily *in Washington. She holds a 1983 M.A. in magazine journalism from SU.*

Electronic filing would shorten the time it takes for taxpayers to get refunds to about two weeks.

H&R Block. This year, an estimated 6.2 million taxpayers with refunds coming to them had already filed returns electronically by the end of March, an enormous jump from the 4.1 million who filed electronically last year and well ahead of the service's expectations for this year. Long term, the agency is shooting for 35 million taxpayers filing electronically.

It's not surprising that the IRS prefers to receive returns electronically, although it is still years away from planning for paperless returns. Each year, the agency receives a mind-boggling mountain of paper. In 1990 more than a billion pieces of paper, such as W-2's, documents from banks and brokerage houses reporting interest or dividend income, and other documents were sent in with tax returns. Electronic filing would not only reduce that mountain of paper and help boost the accuracy of returns, but also shorten the time it takes for taxpayers to get refunds to about two weeks.

"Electronic filing is going to be a big money-saver and a big hassle-saver, and keep a lot of taxpayers from having to contact the IRS," observes Robert A. LeBaube, director for IRS problem resolution at Coopers & Lybrand and, until recently, assistant commissioner for taxpayer services at the IRS.

Ultimately, the service hopes modernizing its computer systems will do more than just improve service and lower costs. It expects its biggest payoff will come from higher revenues—reducing the $90 billion "tax gap," which represents underpayment of taxes, delinquencies, and fraud. Estimates of how much additional revenue the service will garner from this computer overhaul are not yet available. But one component of it alone—the acquisition of IBM equipment valued at $340 million—will enable the service to collect an additional $2.5 billion in delinquent taxes over the contract's seven-year life of the vendor contract.

"We hope that having accurate information faster will allow us to either collect funds due a little bit quicker, and probably allow us to make sure that the funds show as due and owing are really due and owing," Cox says.

All of this sounds wonderful. But what's to say the service's ambitious modernization will work? The last time around, when the IRS replaced some large computers in its 10 service centers in 1985, the project backfired so badly IRS officials shudder any time someone mentions it. There were horror stories galore of taxpayers receiving refunds several months later than usual because of computer systems that didn't work because they were not properly tested, of how officials couldn't retrieve old data because the new computers couldn't read it, of centers losing data when the computers crashed.

"We did not have the kind of planning we should have," Cox notes. But this time, he says, it will be different. With so much resting on the modernization of the computer systems, the IRS simply cannot afford to repeat those mistakes. In fact, it was with this in mind that the service last year revamped its information processing division, creating a chief information officer or technology czar, with Cox, working solely on the modernization project, reporting to him.

Beyond that, each step of the project is being carefully planned. The entire project is divided into smaller, more manageable tasks. New computer systems are carefully tested before installation, and the older systems they replace will continue to run side by side with the new systems as insurance. This time, too, the agency has a bigger budget, more people assigned to it, and more time to do the job right.

"I think the risks are very high," Cox says. "But I think the rewards are also very very high. We can't afford not to do it."

—*Vineeta Anand*

Impoverished children across the nation have benefited from the resources of fashion designers, rock stars, and local community organizations, thanks to the efforts of the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund. **Sharon Ladin '85** (Arts and Sciences/Newhouse), child watch coordinator, says the organization seeks the services of anyone able to improve the lot of children.

When the nation's governors need information on maternal and child health-care issues, they often turn to **Ian T. Hill G'83** (Social Work), a nationally recognized expert in the field. Hill is a senior policy analyst for the National Governor's Association.

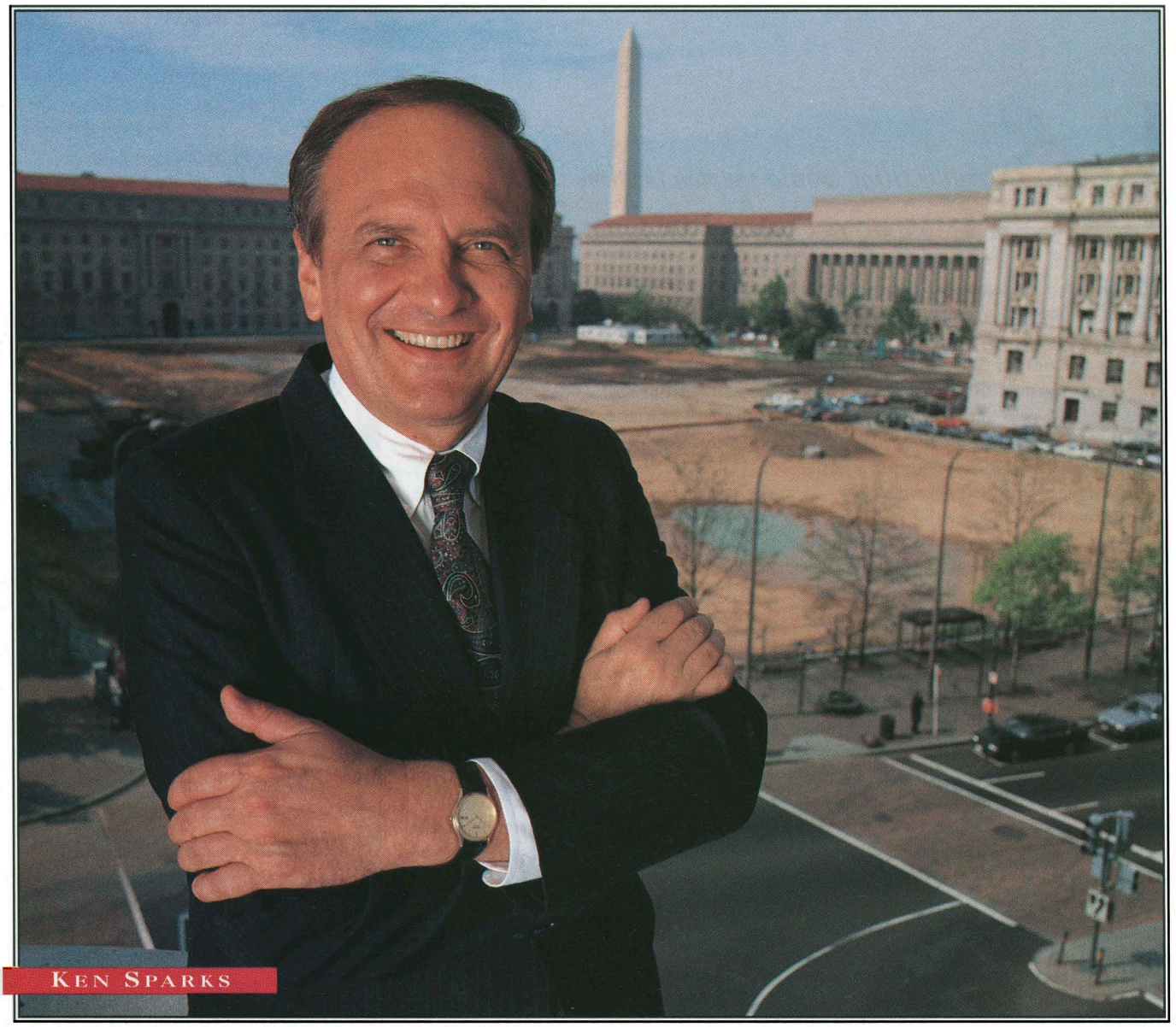
The Law

There's power and there's influence. **Vincent Cohen '57, G'60** (Arts and Sciences, Law) has both. A litigation partner with Hogan & Hartson, Cohen is widely regarded as a behind-the-scenes presence in local government and society. Listed among *The Best Lawyers in America*, Cohen is a member of the Federal City Council and the Committee on Grievances of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Got a problem with the IRS? **Chuck Levy '60** (Arts and Sciences) is your man. A former tax specialist with the agency, Levy began the Washington tax practice at the law firm Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer, & Feld, where he is a partner.

Hey sports fans! That's not *deja vu* you're experiencing, it really is the same voice you're hearing at the Redskins, George Washington basketball, and University of Maryland football games. It belongs to **Philip R. Hochberg '61** (Visual and Performing Arts), otherwise a partner in the D.C. law firm Baraff, Koerner, Olender & Hochberg. His legal specialties: communications and, naturally, sports.

When writers in Washington want to make sure the law is on their side, they turn to **Ron Goldfarb '54, G'56** (Arts and Sciences, Law). A partner in the firm Goldfarb, Kaufman & O'Toole, Goldfarb specializes in media and literary law, and is the author of *The Writer's Lawyer*.



WALTER CALAHAN

KEN SPARKS

OVERSEAS CENTRAL

The ICTC will be a one-stop locus of international exchange.

Behemoth. That's the word that crops up in press descriptions of the United States International Cultural and Trade Center, being built in Washington, D.C. The center, which officially broke ground last month, will be the largest building in the capital and second only to the Pentagon among federal buildings, located just two blocks from the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue.

A hole is being dug on the site nine acres wide and 60 feet deep. But it's not big just for bigness's sake. Everything about the center is ambitious, from its architecture to its agenda: bringing America to new economic heights through increased international trade while improving world harmony and understanding.

The International Cultural and Trade Center, two decades in the making, will bring together essential diplomatic and trade functions, cultural activities, and international programs of interest to Washingtonians and visitors. The facility will be the only one of its kind in the world, incorporating the humanistic goals of global multiculturalism with the promise of renewed American activity in foreign trade. You might call it idealism with an ulterior motive.

The history of the Cultural and Trade Center is the saga of how a vision survived the Washington bureaucracy to become real and its metamorphosis along the way. It's also the story of **Ken Sparks**, whose vision kept the project alive.

Sparks is executive director of the Federal City Council, a powerful group of 150 business and professional leaders in Washington who work with local and federal government to facilitate major projects in the city. The organization—and, in particular, Sparks, its chief staff person for 20 years—are credited as the catalyst behind projects ranging from the Metrorail system to the D.C. convention center. And the International Cultural and Trade Center.

From 1987 until last month, when construction began, Sparks wore an additional hat—that of the center's organizing president.

The concept for a cultural and trade

"It's a real challenge to steer a project of this magnitude through all the troubled waters down here," says ICTC President Ken Sparks.

center in Washington has been kicking around the city since the late sixties and landed with the Federal City Council a decade later. The need was obvious: with only 2,000 firms responsible for 80 percent of U.S. exports, achieving a "trade culture" will be one of America's greatest challenges for the 1990s. It may also be one of the most difficult.

With something like 30 federal agencies and 13 committees of Congress playing a role in trade, a person can spend a lot of time and money traversing our nation's capital to get the necessary information.

"Virtually everybody who's taken a look at the United States's trade apparatus has concluded that it's in need of consolidation and coordination," says Sparks, who holds three SU degrees, including a Ph.D. in communications earned in 1964. "The thought is to try to simplify things for the business person who needs to be inspired to start trading if America's standard of living is going to be maintained."

The resulting $700-million project will open in 1996. "The idea is to bring together those parts of the United States government that deal with the public on trade, travel, and cultural exchange. We will combine that with the activities of commercial attachés, cultural attachés, and consular officials from the embassies here. We'll have a mix of both foreign and domestic offices, where business people and people who need to travel have easy access to these services and information," Sparks explains. "We hope a business person could go to this center and get 90 percent of the information needed to get involved in trade." The center will also have major ongoing tourist attractions, designed to educate Americans about other cultures—sort of a permanent World's Fair.

The mammoth, irregularly shaped building, designed by James Freed, of the renowned architecture firm of Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, is destined to become a Washington landmark. On 14th Street there will be a graceful, curved façade with end pavilions and a recessed entryway. The Pennsylvania Avenue entrance is a grand rotunda with raised, paired pillars. A dramatic hemicycle public park sits off to one side.

Facilities expected to attract eight million tourists annually include an international retail and dining area, performing arts center, large- and small-screen film theaters, and continuous exhibitions. The crown of the center's public facilities will be the World Link, a major high-technology attraction stressing the concept of global interconnectedness through a variety of state-of-the-art communication technologies.

The Washington Post recently wrote of the World Link Atrium: "Enclosed by a conical, steel-frame glass roof, screened in part by a delicate suspended scrim, supported by an independent system of steel columns, it looks in model to be breathtaking, and even spellbindingly beautiful. It could become one of the greater interior attractions in the world."

That's what Sparks is counting on. As a graduate student at Syracuse finishing up his Ph.D., Sparks spent a year in India as part of a program that sent professional students abroad to work in their field of expertise. Sparks worked at the United States Information Agency (USIA), the first tenant in a new India International Center in Delhi.

"It was a very exciting time," he recalls. "John Galbraith was the ambassador. Edward R. Murrow was the head of USIA. There was just an awful lot going on, much of which occurred at this international center," he says. Seeing the wonderful things that could happen and the importance of cultural exchange made a strong impression. Says Sparks, "I've worked hard to incorporate some of the things I remember from my experiences in this new center."

Though Sparks prides himself on being a quiet, behind-the-scenes guy, his influence and savvy are well known. He was named a Washingtonian of the Year in 1987 by *The Washingtonian* magazine, which wrote about him, "Whatever Sparks takes on, he does it with energy and intelligence and a love for Washing-

State and Foreign Service

Normally career diplomats never cause much public controversy, but **Ambassador Terence Todman G'52** (Maxwell) did. In 1986 he turned a cold shoulder to the South African ambassadorship because of the Reagan administration's soft line toward sanctions. Todman, who has served almost 40 years in the foreign service, is currently Ambassador to Argentina. His other desks have included, among others, Chad, Guinea, Denmark, and Costa Rica.

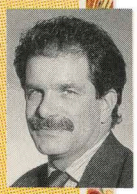
Jay Johnson '73 (Maxwell) is the mission director to Cameroon for the Agency for International Development (AID), which administers humanitarian and economic assistance for the U.S. government.

As the director of policy and public affairs for the State Department's counter-terrorism coordinator, **Frank Moss '75** (Maxwell) handles international matters dealing with terrorism. He worked with the families of the Pan Am 103 bombing and the Presidential Commission investigating the bombing.

Also in the Beltway

Catching spies isn't easy, but it does make for an interesting career. It's the job of attorney **John L. Martin G'62** (Law), chief of the internal security section at the U.S. Department of Justice. During Martin's term, more than 56 defendants have been charged with espionage, including the first KGB officers, the first FBI agent, the first CIA double-spy, and the first people arrested for spying on behalf of China and Israel.

When the IRS shook up its organization last year to increase the accountability of IRS executives for financial matters and information resources, **C. Morgan Kinghorn Jr. G'70** (Maxwell) landed near the top. In a newly created position, assistant commissioner for finance/controller, he coordinates the IRS's financial management system.



Also in new positions at the IRS: **Regina M. Deanehan G'78, G'86** (Maxwell) is assistant commissioner for international operations at the agency, responsible for all IRS international tax administration mat-

ton, and he gets the job done." Last year Sparks was feted with a tribute by Washington's prestigious Council for Court Excellence.

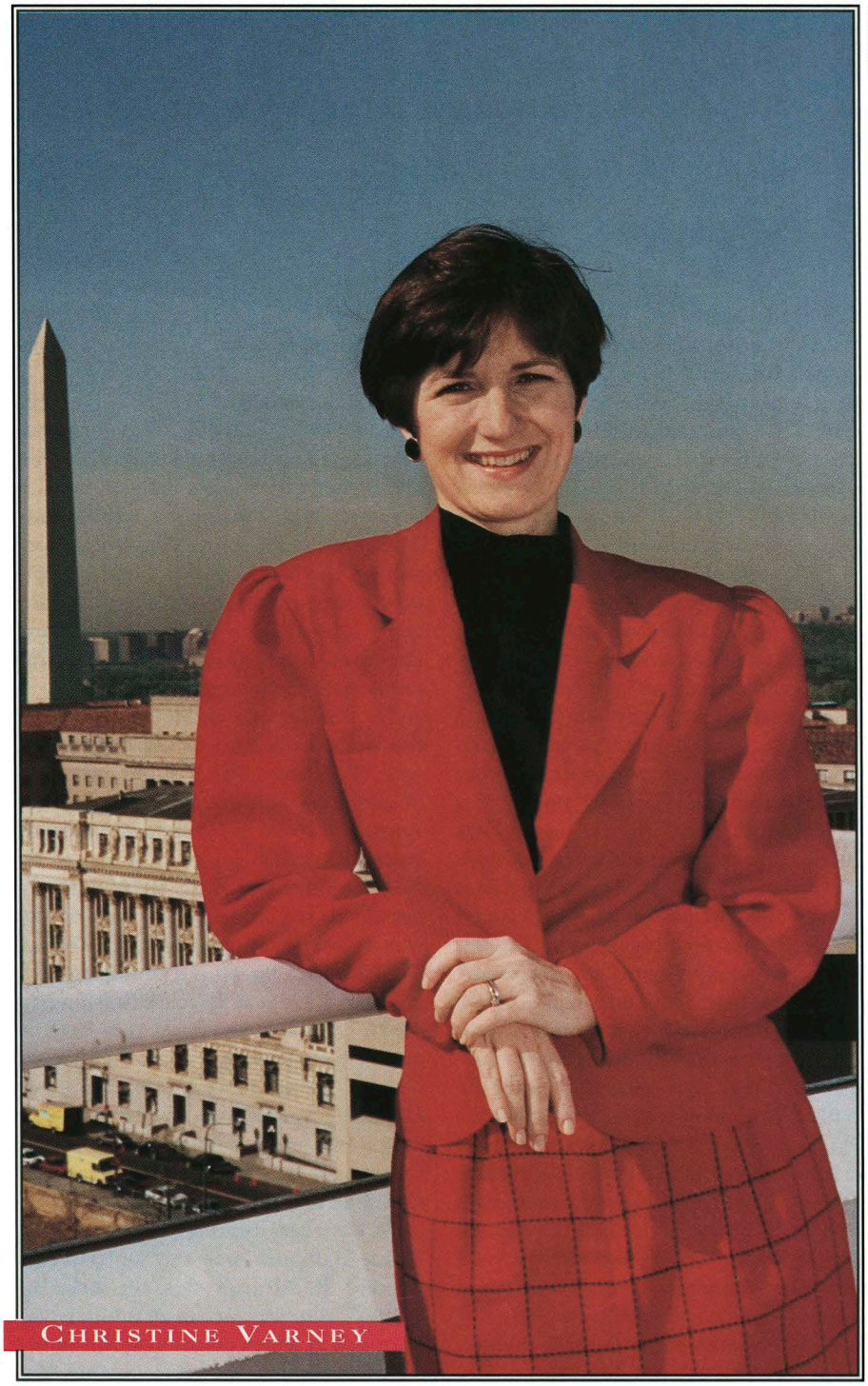
Those honors are nice, he says, but will pale in comparison to the satisfaction he'll feel when the International Cultural and Trade Center opens its doors.

In Washington, it's not uncommon for civic improvements to fall victim to the conflicts of various bureaucracies. "This is a city where it's easy to stop almost anything," he says. "Getting people together and getting them to understand the vision of this thing and to spend close to a billion dollars to see it done, that was a major achievement and probably our largest hurdle.

"It's a real management challenge to try to steer a project of this magnitude through all the troubled waters down here to the day something opens as a successful mix of both government and private sector activities," he adds.

But it's a challenge worth the trials and effort. Says Sparks, "I think it will mean good things for America."

—*Renée Gearhart Levy*



DAVID BRODA

CHRISTINE VARNEY

SIDING WITH THE DONKEY

Christine Varney is a rising star in the Democratic Party.

When Ron Brown was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee in February 1989, he knew just where to turn for help launching his administration. He contacted **Christine Varney**, a crackerjack, for-the-people lawyer he worked with at the 1988 Democratic National Convention in Atlanta.

Brown first appointed Varney chief of staff, in charge of recruiting personnel for major positions in the Democratic National Committee (DNC). When she accomplished that within a few short months, he appointed Varney chief counsel of the DNC, making her the youngest

Mary Ellen Mengucci *is an associate editor of* Syracuse University Magazine. *She earned an M.A. in magazine journalism from the Newhouse School last month.*

Renée Gearhart Levy *is also an associate editor of* Syracuse University Magazine.

"Once you start spreading power to those who traditionally didn't have it, the network begins to give."

person to hold the post and one of a handful of women to possess a key spot on a political committee.

"I think we all agree this is a milieu that really has been dominated by men," says Varney. "But it's like anything else. Once you start breaking down the barriers and really spreading access and power to those who traditionally didn't have it, the network begins to give."

Varney says Brown's election to the DNC helped pave the way for her. "He's black and he had represented Jesse Jackson at the convention and I think there was some resistance to him when he first announced his intention to become chairman," she says. "We heard a lot of, 'The time's not right. He's too liberal.' All of which to me was people reacting to the fact that this was someone who, like me, was not in the traditional network."

As the DNC's general counsel, Varney spends much of her time monitoring the committee's compliance with the federal election law. The Federal Election Commission operates under a complex set of rules, says Varney, particularly regarding donations and how political committees spend them.

She also oversees the committee's litigation matters and regular transactions. In a presidential election year, when the DNC's annual budget jumps from $10 million to $50 million, her responsibilities grow as well. She reviews paperwork and contracts for equipment, leases, additional staff, and standard banking procedures.

Varney, who received an M.P.A. from the Maxwell School in 1978, brought a combination of social-service and legal experience to the post. Prior to joining the DNC, she worked as an attorney in international law and served a bevy of social service agencies in California, lobbying on their behalf and helping to establish economic development programs.

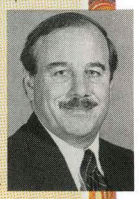
Now she serves the DNC as an associate of Hogan and Hartson, a D.C. legal firm that specializes in legislative cases and clients. Varney spends up to half of her time on DNC matters, but with the resources and staff of the firm at her disposal she handles an array of other clients. She specializes in environmental and energy issues and communications. "I am always working with clients who are hoping to achieve legislative solutions to their cases," she says. "We counsel clients on how they can adapt to a change in the legislative environment. And we counsel them on legislative strategies." Both roles require Varney to start most mornings on Capitol Hill, discussing legislative matters with congressional staff members.

She finds the combination of her legal work at the DNC and at Hogan and Hartson fulfilling because it provides her with an interesting perspective into the private and public sectors. "It's really gratifying to see our system of government work," she says. "I see evidence everyday of why democracy is a good thing."

—*Mary Ellen Mengucci*

ters. **John F. Devlin G'81** (Maxwell), director of the information reporting program, handles all aspects of the IRS's information reporting systems. As executive assistant of the planning division, **David W. Junkins G'83** (Maxwell) works to create a vision for tax administration in the 21st century.

When a defense issue arises in the national security division of the Office of Management and Budget, **Eugene Ebner G'74** (Maxwell), senior defense analyst, begins strategizing. Recently he served as director for defense policy on the staff of the National Security Council.



The Department of Veteran's Affairs, a $30-billion organization with 250,000 employees and the nation's largest health care system, is overseen by **S. Anthony McCann G'69** (Maxwell), assistant secretary for finance and planning and chief financial officer for the department.

Robert P. Davis G'73 (Maxwell) was an obvious choice for appointment of solicitor of the U.S. Department of Labor. He headed Secretary Elizabeth Dole's transition team under the Office of the President-Elect at the Department of Labor, and then served as special assistant to the secretary pending his nomination and senate confirmation.

In January, Secretary of Interior Manuel Lujan appointed **Roger E. Middleton '74, G'75** (Arts and Sciences, Maxwell) director of the Interior Department's Office of Hearings and Appeals. Middleton formerly worked as a corporate lawyer for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in D.C.

When the secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS) needs legal guidance about administrations that fall within his jurisdiction, he calls upon **Susan K. Zagame '73, G'77** (Arts and Sciences, Law). Zagame serves as deputy general counsel to the HHS.

The Washington Register was prepared by Mary Ellen Mengucci *and* Renée Gearhart Levy, *associate editors of* Syracuse University Magazine; *and* Jay S. Strell, *a contributing editor and May 1991 graduate of the Newhouse School and the College of Arts and Sciences.*